1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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of the goat killed at his wife's funeral. But sons inherit from their mother all but purely feminine forms of property, which pass to her daughters or to her sons' wives. Thus the eldest son inherits all cash left by his mother, and also all her debts, the husband not being held responsible for these. The son inherits her bean farm and passes it on to his wife. He also inherits her goats; but cooking utensils and feminine ornaments pass to her daughter, if she is old enough for marriage, or to her son's wives.

Birth and Marriage Ceremonies.—When a married woman conceives her first child the event is celebrated, four months after conception, by a feast provided by the husband, who invites all his own and his wife's relatives. Large quantities of beer are consumed and hopes are expressed that the woman will be safely delivered of a sturdy child. A leech is sometimes called in during pregnancy to administer medicine, but pregnancy does not involve a state of taboo and no religious rites are performed such as we find in the neighbouring tribe of the Berom, where the husband shaves the wife's head and leads her blindfold to the cave of the priest of Mbon. The Katab woman counts the months of her pregnancy by putting a circular dot of red earth on her thigh for the first month, two for the second, and so on. And so if you see a woman with five red dots on her legs or body you will know that she has been enceinte for five months. The husband keeps his own tally secretly, in case his wife runs off before she gives birth.

The woman does not, as among most tribes, go to her mother's home to bear her first child; but after the confinement she takes her new-born babe to her own home and remains there for three or four months, the reason given being that she will be better cared for among her own people than in her husband's home. During the confinement she is attended by wives of her husband's father or brother, but modesty would forbid the presence of the husband's mother. She is delivered sitting on a stone or on the wooden tray on which she is accustomed to carry head loads. The tray thereafter bears a semi-sacred character and a Katab woman will often swear an oath on her tray saying: "If I did so-and-so may I die with my next child." Should the babe be dilatory in beginning to breathe, a hoe is beaten with a piece of iron to rouse its energy. The umbilical cord is severed with a razor at about an inch from the

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

these imposed duties " he was careful to mind his own business. Any excessive zeal would be rewarded with an arrow."

Under British Administration the system has altered considerably (quite apart from the prohibition of slavery). The Katuka, living permanently at Zangon Katab, is directly responsible to the Emir; the Katab tribal area has been divided, presumably on a strictly territorial basis, into seven Village-areas, and while the headmen of six of these seem to be " heirs " of the former heads of the sub-clans and small clans, it should be noted that the old Aswen administrative unit has apparently undergone fission, and a new, seventh, head has been created, on a basis as yet unknown.

The Katuka is said to have bowed to tradition in the matter of ceremonial and procured two swords of Prussian manufacture from Kauru, which are used in the installation of Village-area headmen in certain cases; here again, the available materials are difficult to interpret, but it seems that although the Katab have never had a tribal chief recognizable as such, Minyam clan appears to occupy a prominent position, presumably as a result of which the Katuka has " issued " the ceremonial swords to the heads of Aswen and Fakan, who, according to Meek, " use the swords for swearing-in minor officials " of those two sub-clans only.[22]

Meek states further that the sub-clan and clan headmen " combine to form a native court which sits monthly at each of the sub-clan headquarters." The sub-clan [sic: head?] and elders also, form a deliberative assembly. Oaths were most frequently resorted to in cases of paternity, failure to settle which, by arbitration, might end in the administration of poison to fowls representing the parties to the dispute. A women may take an oath on her head-board, " May I die in childbirth if I lie! ". Traditionally, cases within a lineage of virtually any sort, with the possible exception of murder and theft, which are likely to have been very rare, were handled by the lineage heads. Within the sub-clan cases appear to have been settled by arbitration, perhaps by a disinterested lineage head. In inter-clan disputes it seems that another clan or sub-clan might adjudicate, but the position is not entirely clear.

Inheritance

In general " a man's property and titles pass to his sons or paternal nephews, brothers or paternal cousins," but Meek records exceptional cases where a sister's son received a share of the property of the deceased, and a man inherited from his maternal grandfather's widow. Females do not inherit from males, husbands from wives, parents from children, or grandchildren from grandparents, other than wives, as indicated already. Succession is by preference first to collaterals; inheritance equally to adult lineal descendants (sons).

The Life Cycle

Birth

To celebrate the first conception of a (married) woman, a " beer-feast " is held by the prospective father " for all his own and his wife's relatives." In general there are no religious observances in connection with pregnancy, however, though a specialist may be called in to administer " medicine " from time to time. The mother is delivered—sitting on her head-board—in her husband's compound,

Nigeria). It appears that the Katab occasionally rallied " to drive the chief of Kauru out of Zangon Katab and pillage the Hausa inhabitants", but their relationship with Kauru may well have been to some extent voluntary, as it enabled them to dispose of murderers, thieves, and possibly certain other kinds of criminals also. Whether these criminals were in effect deducted from their annual dues is not clear, but it seems unlikely.

[22] On the other hand, Meek adds that " no village headman would feel that he had been properly appointed if he had not been shown the sword," so that it seems possible that between them the heads of Aswen and Fakan may play an important part in confirming all the Village-area heads of the Katab tribe.

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(3) Widow inheritance.[87] 587

(*a*) Inheritance of (man's) father's wife.

(*b*) Inheritance of (man's) " real " brother's wife.

(*c*) Inheritance of (man's) classificatory brother's wife (most commonly within lineage or clan, sometimes within the limits of the *bin*).

In primary marriage, according to Smith, the actual negotiations are never made by the parties concerned: the suitor or his father approaches a matrilineal or affinal relative of the suitor in an appropriate (*niendi*) clan and names the girl-member that interests him; this relative, in turn, seeks out as a second intermediary a fellow clansman more closely related to the girl's father and willing to arrange the marriage. A series of gifts is made by the suitor and his father through the go-betweens to the girl and her parents, and lesser gifts are returned. In the year before the marriage is to take place, the girl's back is cicatrized (see *Initiation*, above): feasts prepared by the suitor's family, and consumed by the girl and her kin in their own village, precede and follow the ordeal. At last, three women (the chief wife of each of the intermediaries, and the wife of a matrilineal kinsman of the bride) take the girl to her husband's compound. According to Smith, " This carrying of the bride to her husband's home . . . is performed by all Kagoro at a set season after . . . Zafan clan at Kadarko . . ." Further rituals, however, occupy several succeeding days before the marriage is consummated. 584

It is noteworthy that, according to Smith's Kagoro informants, formal courtship occurs during betrothal on visits made by the suitor accompanied by a male friend. They visit the girl's compound after dark, taking a new mat and some tobacco or beer as gifts for her mother and father. No sexual play or intercourse is associated with these visits which take place as often as the suitor desires. Kagoro say that premarital intercourse is rare and premarital pregnancy exceptionally rare. It is particularly shameful if a daughter gives birth in her parents' home, and to avoid this, when an unmarried girl becomes pregnant, the marriage is immediately carried out without any formalities. Which is to say, apparently, that she simply takes up residence in her husband's compound, without any of the ceremony described above, and regardless of the " set season." 584 836 848

The primary marriage of a woman may—and appears often to—serve as a kind of signal to secondary suitors, as they may be termed: " Suitors seeking a girl in secondary marriage first bring the matter to her parents' notice on the day that she has been taken to her first husband's compound." Secondary courtship proceeds much according to the pattern observed for primary: the woman's parents are approached, gifts are exchanged, and courtship visits paid to the woman whenever she returns to her parental compound, as she does periodically, according to a more or less fixed traditional pattern from the very beginning of her marriage. A wife may reject a secondary suitor, however; on the other hand, a really persistent secondary suitor can have his way with her provided she bears her primary husband a child, and the suitor can succeed in kidnapping the infant during the nursing period. 584 587

Complete failure to persuade a woman in a secondary suit may result in refunding payments made by the suitor, application for which he makes only as a last resort, however.

As indicated earlier, payments made by a husband secure the membership of his children in his own clan: young children, however, regularly accompany their mother when she takes up residence with successive husbands; this practice has the effect of extending the terms for father and paternal relatives of children to all the husbands of the mother and their relatives. To prevent paternity disputes, a woman was required monthly, for three months after taking up residence 851 843

[87] *N.B.*, widows apparently cannot contract new primary marriages.

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843 with a new husband, to demonstrate to her father (or guardian) that she was not pregnant, according to Kagoro tradition.

584 587 In general, secondary marriage with formal betrothal is negotiated with the utmost discretion, so that ideally the primary (or current, about-to-be-displaced secondary) husband is presented with a *fait accompli* when his wife takes up residence with a new husband. In practice, however, the husband often knows all too well the true situation, but he is enjoined to suppress any show of jealousy or anger, and instead to treat his rival with the utmost sympathy and respect. It must be stressed that a second marriage does not dissolve the first, and that a wife may return to prior husbands without particular formality.

583 587 Secondary marriage by capture appears to have occurred at least as often without the woman's consent as with: the village of the woman's prior husband usually responded with an attack on the village of the offender, but such a measure was likely to be more or less ineffective if the two villages were separated by one or more other villages, who might be inclined to discourage hostilities, and in the end the affair might be settled by the abductor legitimizing the marriage by payments to the girl's parents; when a wife was captured from a neighbouring village feuding might continue until the wife returned—or was returned—to her own parental compound or to her prior husband's village. Indeed, it appears that wives were taken in this way more frequently from Ataka and Kaje, among neighbouring tribes, who were in turn the major offenders against Kagoro, in this respect: it will be recalled that Kagoro took heads in these tribes. However, it appears that it was practised frequently enough among the ancestors of the groups which compose the present-day Kagoro community to have left its mark on the social structure: Smith conjectures that something like a "normal" *niendi* relationship between clans became in some cases *nendwang*, when one clan took by force a wife from the other.

586 587 As indicated already, marriage cannot be dissolved by any traditional means. Even should a woman's husband die, he is succeeded automatically by a kinsman, though she may choose his successor from among his eligible relatives, and, in fact, she may take up—or resume—residence with another husband when she has spent a "reasonable" period with her inheritor.

586 There have been changes in traditional procedures since Administration. Within the past generation, divorce has been enforced and, accordingly, secondary marriage—"serial polyandry", that is—has been forbidden. In an effort to reduce paternity disputes, the Moslem custom (*iddat*, *idda*, etc.) requiring a divorced woman to return to her parents for a period of celibacy lasting three months before consummating a new marriage has been introduced by Administration to replace indigenous practice described. It would appear that in those cases where the secondary suitor can afford to pay the fines, traditional procedures may be followed still; in other cases it seems that Kagoro are indifferent to the European definition of divorce, even when they adhere to the letter of the law.

835 727 587 Kagoro claim that incest between close biological kin is unheard of, though terrible to contemplate. They say also that incest between affines (a man and his brother's wife) was unknown before Administration. Before the advent of the British, a man captured by outsiders was, in effect, declared legally dead, and none, apparently had ever been known to return from captivity; the problem has now arisen of how to provide for the wives of men imprisoned for limited periods for offences against the Administration. The Kagoro solution has been, when the man's sentence is a considerable one, to permit the customary "inheritance" of his wives by his "heirs", all concerned submitting to ritual purification on his release from prison.

837 684 According to Smith, adultery could occur only with a man from another clan, presumably a *niendi* clan, though he fails to specify, since a member of a *nendwang* clan would be able to contract a secondary marriage, if attracted to a woman. Inter-clan adultery, where not witnessed, is said to be usually confessed by the